

~~SECRET~~

Secret

फाईल संख्या

File No.

खण्ड

Volume I

870/11/8/10/93-Pol

भारत सरकार
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
(Political Section)

अनुभाग/प्रभाग
SECTION/DIVISION

टिप्पणियां/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

विषय
SUBJECT

Dis appearance of Netaji Subhash-
Chandra Bose.
— Return of the ashes of Subhas Chandra
Bose from Japan to India.

.....को सूचीकृत की गई
Indexed on

आद्याक्षर.....
Initials

अभिलेख क/ख
Record A/B

अभिलेख ग में नष्ट किया जाए
Record C Destroy in

अनुभागीय नोट बुक में नोट किया जाए
नोट न किया जाए

To be noted
Not to be noted in Sectional Note Book

अनु. अ./अधीक्षक के आद्याक्षर.....
Initials of S.O./Supdt.

लिपिक के आद्याक्षर.....
Initials of Clerk

+ Reports of Ambassador of India, Moscow
dt. 24th June & 2nd July regd. Publication
in Series of Articles on Subhas Chandra
Bose - Nos 13-14/c)

CONTENTS			
NOTES CORP.	S. Nos		Pages
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1-6			1-52

805/11/C/13/95-Pol.



पिछले हवाले
Previous References

Keep

08/01/16

बाद के हवाले
Later References

Vol. II

linked letters with no. 100

*(No. 100 file no. 6. 4(6) 91 No. 100
no. 139/1/54
15/5/54)*

870/11/1/16/92
Linked file - 805/11/C/13/95-Pol.

*(It file no. 870/11/1/16/93) for
regd. letters from
Archives Dept. etc.
sent to 23/5/54
on 7/3/55*

MEAs had been asked to let us know if the question of dealing with the remains of Shri Subash Chandra Bose has been dealt with in the past, and the decision taken in that regard. This point had arisen in the context of a telex from our Embassy in Tokyo about a news-item that the question of these remains has remained unsettled for the last 48 years (flag A).

2. The casket containing Netaji's ashes is housed in the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo. The majority among Netaji's followers believe that these are his ashes and have been urging that the ashes be brought to India with due honour. There are some doubts whether the new Chief Priest of the Temple will continue to keep the casket with due respect once Netaji's associates who are very old, are no longer able to keep an eye on it.

3. Action on this matter has however been held up by a vocal minority which believes that Netaji escaped to the Soviet Union, and disputes the fact of his death in the plane crash.

4. MEA is of the view that the issue will probably have to be faced one way or another before Netaji's birth centenary in 1997.

5. The CCPA had last considered (flag-B) this issue in February 1991, in the context of a note prepared by the Ministry of Home Affairs, and was of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another inquiry or bringing the ashes back to India at present. In August 1992, PM had approved that no further action need be taken on this case, in the context of a request for directions from MEA about whether an approach should be made to countries such as the UK, USA, Japan and Taiwan for examining their archival materials on this subject (flag C).

6. Our Embassy in Moscow reported recently that a journal published from Moscow is likely to publish a series of articles based on classified KGB archives alleging inter alia that Netaji was an MI-6 agent and one of his close aides was a KGB agent (flag D). Our Mission in Moscow would try to intercede with the journal's Editorial Board to lobby against the publication of these articles, but it is unlikely they will succeed. The MEA file notes (flag-E) that an approach had been made to the Russian Foreign Office earlier seeking information, and in January 1992 their response was "as per data available in the Central and the Republic Archives there is no information about the stay of the former President of Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and after that".

7. In view of the circumstances outlined in paragraph 2 above and the controversy that may be generated by the publication of the articles mentioned in paragraph 6, we could ask MHA which had brought this matter before the CCPA, to start looking into this issue, along with MEA.

Sujata Mehta
(Sujata Mehta)
Deputy Secretary(S)
22.9.1993

In view of paras 5 and 7 above,
JS(N) may please see for further action.

PRL SECY. to P.M.

DY. No. 3608-5/93

Date 11/10/93

J.S. (N)'S OFFICE

Secret Dy No 3527

DATE 24.9.93

J.S. 'M'S OFFICE

Dy No 7808-5/93

Date 22.9.93

54/9/DS(S)/S/13

22.9.93

Principal Secretary to P.M.

Principal Secretary to P.M.

2

INTERNAL

MHA had requested MEA's views on the controversy about Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

EAM has proposed that PM may wish to constitute a high level group on this subject, which is extremely sensitive and should be discussed in the party, and with senior political figures before any action is initiated by any Ministry.

This subject had come up recently in the context of reports from our Embassies in Tokyo and Moscow.

A news item in a Japanese newspaper noted that the question continues unsettled for the last 48 years. The casket containing Netaji's ashes lies in the Runkoji temple in Tokyo and there are some doubts whether the new Chief Priest of the Temple will continue to keep the casket with due respect, once Netaji's associates who are already very old are unable to keep watch over it. The majority among Netaji's followers believe that these are his ashes and they urge that the ashes be brought to India with due honour. Action on this has however been held up by the vocal minority who dispute the fact of Netaji's death.

Our Embassy in Moscow had reported in July 1992 that a Russian journal is likely to publish a series of articles based on classified KGB archives, alleging inter alia, that Netaji was an MI-6 agent and one of his close aides was a KGB agent. The Embassy was not too hopeful about being able to stop the publication of these articles. Earlier in January, 1992 the Russian Foreign Office had been approached for information about Netaji and had responded "as per data available in the Central and Republic Archives there is no information about the stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and after that."

PRL, SECY to PM.

DY. No. 4648-5/93

Date 31/12/93

J.S. M'S OFFICE

Dy No 14295/93

Date 30/12/93

J.S. (N)'S OFFICE

DY. No. 5382 1

DATE 31.12.93

7 358/285/SH3
30/12

3

The CCPA had last considered this issue in February 1991 and had taken the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another inquiry or bringing the ashes back to India at present. In August, 1992 PM had approved no further action be taken in the context of a request for directions from MEA on whether countries such as the UK, the USA, Japan and Taiwan should be approached for examining their archival material on this subject.

In view of possible developments in Japan and the controversy that may develop following the publication of the articles in Russia, it had been suggested that MHA may look into this matter and prepare a paper for the Cabinet on the likely form that this controversy may take and the options available for dealing with it (flag-A).

MEA's views, which were conveyed to MHA are that Netaji's ashes should be brought to India with due honour. It is likely that the Japanese temple may approach us over the next couple of years to take over the ashes. To decline or to store them unobtrusively in our Embassy in Tokyo would be most inappropriate. Efforts could be made to create consensus in favour of bringing the ashes to India, possibly through setting up a National Committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary in 1997.

S { It is for consideration that the request to MHA to prepare a paper on the subject for the Cabinet to consider which would outline the different options available, is the stage preparatory to what EAM has recommended to PM - that a high level group be constituted which could consult senior political figures and then give suitable directions.

Sujata Mehta
(Sujata Mehta)
Deputy Secretary
30.12.93

~~JS(M)~~

*I would tend to agree with
'S' of JS(s)'s note above. If
necessary, MHA could consider
incorporating EAM's suggestion in
their note.*

JS(M)
Principal Secy.

21.12.93

Person
30/12/93

Sujata Mehta
10/1/94
JS(M) 11/1/94
JS(s) done 4-7/12

4

INTERNAL

EAM has drawn PM's attention to the need to constitute a high-level group which could look into the various issues concerning Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan (flag-A).

The controversy surrounding this subject may revive because of a combination of factors. Netaji's ashes are lying in the Renkoji temple in Japan. The new Chief Priest of the temple may not accord due respect to the ashes and it is possible that the temple may ask our Embassy in Tokyo to take over the ashes. Our Embassy in Moscow had reported in July 1993 that a Moscow journal is likely to publish a set of articles based on KGB archives which would allege, inter alia, that Netaji was an MI-6 agent and one of his aides was a KGB agent. The Embassy was not hopeful that it would be able to prevent the publication of these.

Against this backdrop, in October 1993, MHA was asked to prepare a paper for the Cabinet on the likely form that this controversy could take and the options available for dealing with it. When the CCPA had last considered the subject in February 1991, the view taken was that no useful purpose would be served by yet another enquiry or bringing the ashes back to India at the time.

One possibility, as MEA has proposed to MHA, is to try to create a consensus in favour of bringing the ashes to India, possibly through constituting a National Committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary in 1997.

S | It is for consideration that MHA could be asked to incorporate EAM's suggestion to PM - to constitute a high level group which could consult senior political figures and then give suitable directions - in its note for the Cabinet.

Sujata Mehta
(Sujata Mehta)
Deputy Secretary
12.1.1994

~~JS(M)~~

*JS(N) might like to advise MHA
to consult MEA in regard to 'S'.*

J.S. (N)'S OFFICE

BY No. 151/8

DATE 13.1.94

140/255/94

12/1 14295/JS(M)/93

JS(N)
13/1
21/1

JS(N)

JS(N)

JS(N)
12/1/94

Internal

Sub: Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

MHA were requested vide our UO dated 13.10.93 to look into the matter of the controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan, as the controversy surrounding these matters would have to be settled one way or the other before Netaji's Birth Centenary in 1997. They were asked to prepare a paper for the Cabinet on the likely form that this controversy may take and indicate the options for dealing with it.

2. In preparation of the paper, MHA have asked for MEA's comments. A copy of MEA's comments sent with Foreign Secretary's approval is placed below. In this connection, MEA have supported the proposal to bring back Netaji's ashes from Japan and have suggested measures aimed at creating a suitable atmosphere in favour of this proposal by discreetly encouraging public figures to make statements requesting the Government to bring back the ashes and also setting up a Committee to commemorate Netaji's Birth Centenary, which would give a call to bring back Netaji's ashes.

3. EAM vide his note dated 23 December, 1993 has observed that this is an extremely sensitive matter which needs to be discussed in the party and with senior political figures before any action is initiated by any of the Ministries. He has suggested the constitution of a high powered group chaired by Prime Minister to look into this matter and give suitable directions in the matter. As suggested by JS(M), we may request MHA to incorporate the suggestion of EAM in the note for Cabinet as per DFA.

(S.C. AGRAWAL)
DIRECTOR
14 Jan 1994

Order of PM on 'x'
may kindly be obtained.
I do not think a group chaired
by PM is necessary.
It should suffice if the matter is
considered by the Cabinet when the
MHA paper is ready.
We can ask MEA to communicate
their views to MHA for incorporation in
the paper being prepared by MHA.

Principal Secretary to PM

Agarwal 15/1/94 14/1/94

P. V. Narayan 17/1/94 M. S. Behatya 19/1/94

M's Personal Section
F. NO. 60-5
DATE 17-1-94

JS(M)

PRL, SECY to PM
DY. No. 157-5/94
Date 14/1/94

116-S
18/1/94
116/1/94

468/1/94
S. (N)'S OFFICE
Secret Dy. No. 151

ATE
File may be

PM's orders on this subject
were obtained and have been
conveyed to MHA.

PPS to Principal Secretary
may kindly confirm whether
we may now send this
file back to the Section.

11/9/49

Am
17.9

PPS to Principal Secy

Shoben
sent to the Sec.

to L. Secy. The
Chambers
17/9

DRAFT

Sub: Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

MHA may kindly refer to this Office UO of even number dated 13.10.93 on the above mentioned subject.

2. The comments of Ministry of External Affairs have been sent to MHA vide MEA's UO No. C/55/12/93-JP. dated 23.11.93. Subsequent to this, Minister for External Affairs has suggested to Prime Minister that in view of the extreme sensitivity of the matter it needs to be discussed in the party and with senior political figures before any action is initiated by any of the Ministries. He has, therefore, suggested constitution of a high powered group chaired by Prime Minister to look into this matter and give suitable directions.

3. MHA are requested to incorporate the suggestions of Minister of External Affairs in the Cabinet Note.

(N.K. Sinha)
JS(N)

Home Secretary

UO No.

CORRESPONDENCE

S. Nijalingappa

47, 'VINAY'

V. P. Extension
CHITRADURGA - 577501
(Karnataka State)

Phone : 2550 STD, 08194
27th Jan 1993

Dear Prime Minister,

I have written to you more than once about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I have received from Prof Samar Guha on the same subject namely about finding where the patriot and the National Leader and the Beloved of the Nation, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ended his life and spent his last days. It is said that his last days were in Russia and he died there. I wrote also to Sri Gorbechov about more than a year back and got no reply. I also got no reply from you. I am not sure whether you have written to Prof Guha. I am also not sure whether you have made any efforts in this direction. Kindly let me know. If you are not interested in the subject, you may also let me know so that I may not spend any more of my time on this.

If I don't get any reply within a month I presume that you are not interested and will not write to you again and will also inform Prof Guha.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

(S. NIJALINGAPPA)

DIR. (P)'S OFFICE

BY No. 317-6.

Date 2/2

Sri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

54/pm/m/193
9/2

1126 fol 193
12/2

fnw. 2/c

40
 60763
 P
 V. P. Extension
 CHITRAKOOT
 (Karnataka State)
 Phone: 22 STD 20194
 27th Jan 1993

27/1/1993

Dear Prime Minister,

I have written to you more than once about Rajaji
 Subbarao Chandra Bose. I have received from Prof. Sankar
 Das on the same subject mainly about findings from the
 report and the National Order and the delivery of the
 National Order. Subbarao Chandra Bose ended his life and
 ended his last days. It is said that his last days are
 in fact, and he died there. I wrote also to Sri Gopabandhu
 about his last days and not really. I also
 got no reply from him. I am not sure whether you
 have made any effort in this direction. Kindly let
 me know if you are not interested in the subject.
 You may also let me know if I am not a and any
 more. I am sure this

If I don't get any reply within a month I presume
 that you are not interested and will not write to you again
 and will also inform Prof. Sankar.



With regards,
 DIR. (P.B. OFFICE)
 3/1-61
 1. No.
 2/1-61
 Date
 27/1/1993
 2/1-61

27/1/1993
 2/1-61

27/1/1993
 2/1-61

S. NIJALINGAPPA

Phone: 2550

"VINAY"

V. P. Extension

CHITRADURGA - 577 501

(Karnataka State)

27th Jan 1993

Dear Prime Minister,

check

I have written to you more than once about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I have received from Prof Samar Guha on the same subject namely about finding where the patriot and the National Leader and the Beloved of the Nation, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ended his life and spent his last days. It is said that his last days are in "usia and he died there. I wrote also to Sri Gorbechove about more than a year back and got no reply. I also got no reply from you. I am not sure whether you have written to Prof Guha. I am also not sure whether you have made any efforts in this direction. Kindly let me know. If you are not interested in the subject, you may also let me know so that I may not spend any more of my time on this.

If I don't get any reply within a month I presume that you are not interested and will not write to you again and will also inform Prof Guha.

With Warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

Cofm



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
February 5, 1993

Dear Shri Nijalingappa,

I have received your letter of January 27, 1993
regarding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P. V. Narasimha Rao
(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Shri S. Nijalingappa
"Vinay"
V.P. Extension
Chitradurga - 577 501
Karnataka

Shri S. Nijalingappa
V.P. Extension
Chitradurga - 577 501
Karnataka

1127-10/193
12/2

S. NIJALINGAPPA

Phone: 2550

"VINAY"

V. P. Extension
CHITRADURGA-577 501
(Karnataka State)

7th March 1993

Dear Prime Minister,

I had written to you about Netaji
Subhas Chandra Bose on 27th Jan 1993.
A copy of it is enclosed. I have not
received any reply from you. If I
don't received a reply in a reasonable
time, I presume that you are not
interested and cease to trouble you.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(S. NIJALINGAPPA)

Sri P.V.Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

previous papers

105 2
16/3

18 8/17/3

Previous papers are flagged at S.No. 1-2/c in the files below
(no. 807/11/P/10/193 & 807/11/P/16/192) PL.

Arms
24/3/93

Dir(P)

4/c

2/2/3

4
5
Most-Immediate

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

NEW DELHI-110011

Enclosed herewith is a copy of letter dated 27th January, 1993 of Shri S. Nijalingappa, regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. I have been desired to request that a draft reply from the side of Prime Minister to Shri Nijalingappa may kindly be sent by 26th March, 1993.

✓
(Prabhat C. Chaturvedi)
Director

Home Secretary, Govt. of India.

(we.)
PMO U.O. No. 870711/P/10/93-801 Dated: 23-03-1993

g/c
Issued
Pm
23/3/93



सत्यमेव जयते

राष्ट्रपति
भारत गणतंत्र

PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

22 March 1993

My dear Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,

During my recent visit to Calcutta, Prof. Samar Guha, Shri Triguna Sen, Shri Amiya Kumar Mazumdar and other eminent citizens met me and pressed me to endorse to you the requests contained in the letter which I forward herewith to you.

With sincere regards
Yours sincerely,

S. D. Sharma
(Shanker Dayal Sharma)

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi 110 011.

Encls: As above

ack
27/3/93
13/4

500.67/c

41 Dr (P) Pl
42341

To
Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma
President of India
Raj Bhavan
Calcutta

AS.P.
R. Sekhar

7
March 13/1993

I. Sub: Investigative Inquiry about Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Respected Rastrapatiji,

1997 is the year of Centenary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. It is our sacred national duty to know before that, what really happened to the epic hero of our national liberation.

It was reported by the Tokyo Radio quoting the news of the Domai Agency that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died at Taihoku in Formosa in an aircrash on 18th Aug 1945. But this report of the private news agency was neither officially confirmed by the Govt. of Japan, nor by any other concerned Govts. of India, UK and USA. Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Wavell, the then Viceray of India, didn't accept the Radio report as true. Thus, the riddle about the report of Netaji's death continued to remain unresolved.

In 1956 Shah Nawaz Committee was set-up to inquire into the 'death report' of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The Committee's report was not found satisfactory. In 1971 Mrs. Indira Gandhi had instituted an One-man Judicial Commission under justice G.D.Khosla to 'inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. Findings of the report of this Commission, as also of the Shah Nawaz Committee's, were rejected by the then Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai. He made a statement about it in Lok Sabha on 3rd Sept 1978. He also suggested an Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji to finalise the sensitive issue of what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

A representation, thereafter was made to the Govt. of Shri V.P.Singh for an Investigative Inquiry. This Govt. agreed 'to take up the matter'. But it was Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar, which informed in writing regarding starting of 'high level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. But before this inquiry could be completed the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar resigned.

The former President of India, Shri R.Venkatraman, took active interest in this matter. He directly advised Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar to take up the matter in right earnestness.

Before he left his office Shri Venkatramanji twice advised our present Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao, to finalize the issue of what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

A fresh representation has been made to you, to the present Prime Minister, to the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister of External Affairs for completing the Investigative Inquiry that was started by the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar.

An Investigative Inquiry doesn't mean any further Public Inquiry, but requires findings of documents about the report of the plane crash involving Netaji which are available with the Govts. of UK, USA, Taiwan and Russia.

Immediately after the report of the alleged plane crash involving Netaji, the then Viceray of India, Lord Wavell; Adml. Mountbatten, Chief of the S.E.Asian Allied Army Command and Genl. Mac Arthur, Chief of the US Pacific Army started three separate and independent inquiries to verify the truth about the reported air crash involving Subhas Chandra Bose on Aug 18, 1945. None of the findings of these reports have been published nor either the Shah Nawaz Committee or the Khosla Commission asked for these reports from the Govts. of UK and USA.

Another independent inquiry to ascertain if any air crash had taken place at Taihoku, with Subhas Chandra Bose, on 18 Aug 1945 was conducted by the Mayor of Taipei of Taiwan. This report has also not been published nor asked for publication by the Govt. of India.

Further, according to the intelligence Report of the Govt. of Wavell during 1945-46, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose reached Russia under the cover of the story of air crash and was living there with an assumed name of Ghilzai Malang. The British document of 'Transfer of Power, - 1942-47' which was published in 1975, also confirmed the report of Netaji's taking asylum in Soviet Russia.

A letter written by Khurshed Behan, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, to the US journalist, Louis Fischer, which has been recently found in the archives of USA Princeton

University positively asserted that Gandhiji believed till 22nd July 1946 that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was in Soviet Russia.

The Govt. has been requested to institute an Investigative Inquiry to make high level approach to the Govts. of UK, USA and Taiwan for availing the above inquiry reports and their findings. And also to approach the new Govt. of Russia to reveal all papers, documents, reports, etc. about Subhas Chandra Bose available in the files of the KGB and in the secret archives of Stalin.

If these reports of international inquiries are available then it will be possible for the Govt. of India to come to a final decision, whether Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose actually died in the reported aircrash at Taihoku on Aug 18, 1945 or he managed to escape to Soviet Russia under the cover of the story of his aircrash death.

Such Investigative Inquiry is possible only if a high level approach is made to the Govt. of UK, the Govt. of USA, Govt. of Taiwan and the Govt. of Russia and by our government.

We hope, you will agree that to finally know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is a great national task for India. We, therefore, hope you will advise the Prime Minister to undertake a high level Investigative Inquiry for availing foreign documents for arriving at a decisive conclusion about the destiny of Netaji.

II. Sub: Celebration of 50th year of Azad Hind Govt.

We make a further appeal to you to ask the Central Govt. to observe the Golden Jubilee of the Formation of the Provisional Govt. of Free India on this year on 21st October of 1993. Mrs. Indira Gandhi ~~xxx~~ took a very patriotic initiative in officially celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the Azad Hind Govt. on 21st October 1968 in a befitting manner. Today, the message of the National Unity of Netaji's

Azad Hind Revolution is an urgent necessity for India to meet the present national crisis facing our country.

With regards and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

Triguna Sen.
Amiya Kumar Mazumdar
Abanindro Nath Roy



6

11

PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
March 25, 1993

Dear Rashtrapatiji,

I have your letter of 22nd March, 1993,
forwarding a letter received by you from some
distinguished citizens of Calcutta.

5.10.5 47/c

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.V. Narasimha Rao
(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma
President of India
Rashtrapati Bhawan
New Delhi.

✓
2772/pu/93
13/4

2/4

Dr. (P)

PM 2
214

870711/11/10/92

PL P.V. with the file 11
814

Previous papers are flagged in the files below
(No. 8) of 11/10/93 & 870711/11/16/92-881) PL.
In view of PM's decision at S/V (C.L.F.), we may forward a copy each of
the letter to MHA for a.o.

8/4/93

Dr. (R)

Dr. (R)

874193

9
8/4

5.10.5/c



9

12

PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
March 25, 1993

Dear Rashtrapatiji,

I have your letter of 22nd March, 1993,
forwarding a letter received by you from some
distinguished citizens of Calcutta.

no. 5/6/c

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.V. Narasimha Rao
(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma
President of India
Rashtrapati Bhawan
New Delhi.

No. 870/11/P/10/93-Pol

Dt. 08.04.93

Copy along with a copy of letter forwarded
for appropriate action to Home Secretary, New Delhi.

n
(Prabhat C. Chaturvedi)
Director

Pc
P. H.

Issued
14/4/93



No. MOS/AMB/818/93

AMBASSADOR

SECRET

EMBASSY OF INDIA,
MOSCOW.

June 24, 1993.

We have learnt from a Russian Indologist, Prof. Albert Belsky, that the bi-monthly journal, "Asia and Africa Today", with which he is associated, will soon start publishing a series of articles, based on classified KGB archives, alleging inter-alia that Netaji Subash Bose was a MI-6 (British) agent and that one of his close aides was a KGB agent.

2. From time to time, there has been media speculation on Netaji's visits to the then Soviet Union in 1941 and during and after 1945. The Russian Foreign Ministry had informed us in January 1992, on the basis of the documents available in their Central and Republican archives, that there was no evidence that Netaji had stayed in the Soviet Union during or after 1945. We had also sent to MEA some archival documents obtained from the Soviet Foreign Office in 1990. None of these materials contained even a hint of such scurrilous allegations.

3. The journal "Asia and Africa" has a limited circulation, but it is subscribed to by libraries, academic institutions and scholars in Russia and abroad. If such a sensational story appears in the journal, it will be picked up immediately by journalists based in Moscow. Some Indian journalists have already got wind of it.

4. In the prevalent situation in Russia, which is vastly different from that in the former Soviet Union, official pressures or persuasion are hardly effective in preventing the publication of articles even in journals of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Nonetheless, I have asked our Counsellor (Information) to meet the Deputy Editor-in-Chief to check whether the report about the forthcoming articles is correct and, if so, to persuade him not to publish articles containing such concocted charges about a highly respected national leader whose memory is cherished by the people of India. If the journal does have plans to carry such articles, I will also speak to some others, though I doubt whether such demarches would be of much use.

Yours sincerely,

sd/-
(R. Sen)

Shri J.N. Dixit,
Foreign Secretary,
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi.

PRL, SECY to PM.

DY No. 2509-5/93

Date 29/6/93

4271/DSS/5183
14/7/93

✓ 997 / 1317 / 93-5
6305/PO4/93
16/7

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VH-II

might like to see
Person
29/6/93

Principal Secy.
A. V. V. V.
1/7

PA
Pm

Mos Liaison

PM'S Personal Secy.
DY NO 953-5
DATE 27/93
JS (M)'S OFFICE
Dy No 6216/93
29/6

MOS (PMO)'S OFFICE
DY No 834-5
DATE 8/7/93

12/7/93
Dy (D) / 8/7/93
San 14.7
Pm

34

Copy to :

1. Shri Nalin Surie, Joint Secretary (EE), Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.
- ✓ 2. Shri Prabhakar Menon, Joint Secretary, Prime Minister's Office, New Delhi.

Best wishes

Rosen Lu

(R. Sen)



No. MOS/AMB/853/93

AMBASSADOR

SECRET

EMBASSY OF INDIA,
MOSCOW.

July 2, 1993.

In continuation of my letter No.MOS/AMB/818/93 of June 24, I enclose a self-explanatory note recorded by Counsellor Ajai Malhotra, after his meeting with Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the journal "Asia and Africa Today".

The underlined portions in the attached note are for information only.

Yours sincerely,

sd/-
(R. Sen)

Shri Nalin Surie,
Joint Secretary (EE),
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi.

✓ Copy, along with enclosure, to Shri Prabhakar Menon, Joint Secretary, Prime Minister's Office, New Delhi.

Best wishes

R. Sen
(R. Sen)

MOS (PMO)'S OFFICE

DY No. 824-S
DATE 7/7/93

PRL SECY to PM.

DY No. 2588-S/93
Date 6/7/93

JS (M)'S OFFICE

Dy No. 6444/93

DATE 6/7

PM'S Personal Section

DY NO 1023-S

DATE 14-7-93

4277/D85/5/93
17/7/93

6302/PO4/93
16/7

Embassy of India
Moscow

Meeting with Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief,
"Asia and Africa Today", at 1200 hrs. on 29 June 93

As desired by the Ambassador, I called on Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the monthly journal "Asia and Africa Today" at 1200 hrs. on 29 June 1993. After exchanging pleasantries and exploring the possibility of further cooperation between the Mission and the journal "Asia and Africa Today", I enquired from Touradjev whether "Asia and Africa Today" would soon start publishing a series of articles, based on KGB archives, alleging inter-alia that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was an MI-6 agent and that a close aide of his had worked for the KGB.

Touradjev confirmed that the August (8/93) issue of "Asia and Africa Today" would carry an article titled "The Secret Behind the Death of S.C. Bose" by Prof. Raikov, a well known Indologist based in Liptsk. The article would explore the various theories advanced from time to time, regarding the circumstances of Netaji's death. Its inclusion was essentially meant to generate reader interest in two further articles which would be published in the September (9/93) and October (10/93) issues of "Asia and Africa Today". Touradjev clarified that he was the author of these two articles and that they were based on KGB archives which he had been privileged to personally examine and which had been shared with him by contacts he had in the Russian intelligence service. In an attempt to convince me that his articles were based on genuine KGB documents, Touradjev showed me from afar a copy of a letter dated 11/12/1943, marked "MOST SECRET" and addressed by a Col. G.A. Hill of British Intelligence to a Col. Osipov of Soviet Intelligence.

In response to a query, Touradjev clarified that to the best of his knowledge the Russian Intelligence Service did not possess a separate file on Netaji. In his view, this would seem to show that Netaji had never visited the Soviet Union since, at least in earlier years, a file was usually opened on every foreigner arriving in the country. The documents he had based his articles upon were primarily reports filed by the then Russian intelligence

37

agents in Kabul, letters addressed by British Intelligence to their Soviet counterparts, plus other stray correspondence which he had come across in the KGB archives.

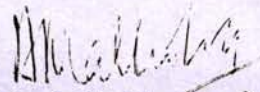
I specifically queried Touradjev as to whether his two articles contained references alleging that Netaji had been a British agent. If so, this would be quite unfortunate, given that Netaji was a widely respected national leader whose memory was deeply cherished by the people of India.

In response to this and other queries, Touradjev made the following points:

- (a) His articles did not bring out that Netaji was a MI-6 agent, in the sense of his being a "paid functionary". Equally, they did, however, show that Netaji "cooperated" with the British. In this context, Touradjev pointed out that without British acquiescence Netaji could not have escaped so easily from India or lived for so long in Kabul. Moreover, the instructions which Netaji sent from Berlin for carrying out subversive acts against the British in India, were never translated into action since the British knew of them and could take corrective measures. Touradjev repeatedly emphasized that the KGB documentation which he had access to left him in no doubt that "Netaji had cooperated with the British". He added that only MI-6 could inform whether the relationship went beyond "cooperation" as additional details would only be available with them. He hoped that, once his articles were published, the British would join in sharing information on Netaji.
- (b) The KGB documentation, however, conclusively established that Bhagat Ram - Netaji's aide in Kabul - had served as an agent of several foreign intelligence services e.g. the British, Russian, German, Italian and others. This would be brought out clearly in his articles.
- (c) His articles would be "scientifically presented" in the sense that they would fully annotated and would provide details of every important document referred to or quoted. They would thus analyze specific documentation and would not be largely speculative.

(d) In his view, the KGB archives material which he has quoted in his articles made Netaji "go up in his esteem, since it showed that he (Netaji) had contributed to the defeat of Fascism". He felt that his articles would in fact show Netaji as being an "even greater nationalist" since Netaji had striven for an independent India, rather than an India subservient to Germany or Japan. Touradjev clarified that the intention behind his articles was not to denigrate Netaji as a leader who had the best interests of India in mind, but to contribute to a better understanding of Netaji's historic role.

In response to my query, Touradjev pointed out that the August (8/93) and September (9/93) issues of "Asia and Africa Today" (containing Prof. Raikov's articles and the first of his two articles) had already been sent to the printers. I did not specifically urge him to have the articles withdrawn, since it was evident that he would not do so in any case.


(Ajai Malhotra)
Counsellor (Inf.)
30.6. 1993

Ambassador

8

13

12447/FS/93
FOREIGN SECRETARY'S OFFICE
....

Inv. 9/c 410/c

JS(PMO) may bring the contents of the attached telex from our Mission in Japan to the notice of the PM.

[Signature]
(J.N. Dixit)
Foreign Secretary
19.8.1993

~~JS(M) PMO~~

may kindly be appropriately
brought to PM's notice.

[Signature]
20/8/93

~~PS to PM~~

Grateful advice

[Signature]
27/8

~~JS(N)~~

I think this is
being dealt with on
MEA side

23/8

~~JS(M)~~

Any pps?

Pol Sec

Prev. papers are
placed in the files below, pl.

[Signature]
23/8/93

PM'S Personal Section
FY NO 3881-G
DATE 23-8-93

(3)

JS. M'S OFFICE
Dy No 208/93
Date 20/8

J.S. (N)'S OFFICE
DY No 3512
DATE 22.8.93

24/8-93

[Signature]
7641/PO4/93
24/8

Inv. 10/c

T-363

TOKYO 13.08.93

20:10

FROM INDEMBASSY TOKYO

TO: FOREIGN NEW DELHI

DIRECTOR (AP) FROM FS (P AND I)

REPTD: US (XP)

COVERAGE ON INDIA IN LOCAL PRESS

8 NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN OF 12TH AUGUST HAS CARRIED THE FOLLOWING STORY FREE TRANSLATION OF WHICH IS AS UNDER:

VOICES FROM JAPAN DOES NOT REACH INDIA GOVERNMENT

-REMAINS OF MR. CHANDRA BOSE

REMAINS OF MR. CHANDRA BOSE, ONE OF THE LEADERS OF INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT WHO FOUGHT WITH THE INDEPENDENT FORCES DURING THE WORLD WAR II, ARE STILL UNSETTLED FOR 48 YEARS.

CHANDRA BOSE ACADEMY WHOSE MEMBERS ARE MOSTLY FROM THE ARMY WHICH SUPPORTED INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE HAVE BEEN CONTACTING INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO RETURN HIS REMAINS TO HIS HOME COUNTRY. THEY ARE CONCERNED THAT THERE WILL BE ONLY A FEW PEOPLE WHO SUPPORTED THE INDEPENDENCE ACTIVITY AND KNOW ABOUT HIM.

MR. BOSE IS A LEADER OF INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE AS WELL AS GANDHI AND NEHRU. HE ESTABLISHED INA AND JOINED INPAL PLAN WITH JAPANESE ARMY.

HE DIED ON THE 18TH OF AUGUST, 1945 IN THE AIR ACCIDENT IN TAIPEI. SINCE THEN HIS REMAINS ARE KEPT IN A TEMPLE IN NAKANO-KU, TOKYO.

2. THE DAILY YOMIURI OF 13TH AUGUST HAS CARRIED V.S. NAIPAUL'S INTERVIEW, TITLED "HINDUS AWAKENING TO HISTORY", WHICH IS FAXED SEPARATELY.

INDEMBASSY TOKYO

COLLS: T-363 TKY/MM 13 20:17 JST

तार अनुभाग (विदेश)
वापत हुआ 13/7/30
भेजा गया 13/2/32
प्रचारक के द्वारा
14

Dir (AP)

33367/7/93

no-8910/9

STB

For info

W6/8

FS (AP)

17/8

19/8/93

(10)

15

In 89/c

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Reference Telex No.T-363, dated 13th August,1993 from our Embassy in Tokyo regarding the remains of Subhash Chandra Bose. (Photocopy enclosed).

2. Could MEA kindly let us know if the question of dealing with the remains of Shri Bose has been dealt with in the past, and if so, what decision has been taken ?

Menon
(Prabhakar Menon)
Joint Secretary to PM
25.8.93

de

JS(AP) MEA.

we.

pmo no. 820711/1910/93 BT dt. 25/8/93

PI/inf. 29/8/93

*In 1/ note 4
15-16/c*

Recd for
issue.
25/8

JS. (M)'S OFFICE

Dy No 7808/93

Date.....20/8



सत्यमेव जयते

N. Ravi
Chargé d'Affaires

Copy

भारत का राजदूतावास, टोकियो
Embassy of India,
2-11, Kudan-Minami 2-chome,
Chiyoda-ku, TOKYO 102
Telex: 2324886 INDEMB J
Phone: 03(3262)2391
Fax: 03(3234)4866

16

Important.

TS(M) PMO
2/9/93

No. TOK/102/2/93

August 27, 1993

Dear Shri. Lahiri,

Please refer to our earlier of even number dated June 1, 1993, regarding the return of the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India.

I enclose herewith copy of a note recorded by Minister(Consular) Shri G.B.Singh, who attended the memorial service at the Renkoji Temple, organised on August 18, 1993.

We would be grateful if you could let us know the results of your efforts towards taking of a decision regarding the return of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose back to India.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(N. Ravi) 27/8

Shri Dilip Lahiri,
Joint Secretary (AP),
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi.

Previous papers are flagged at SMO-8-10/c in the file below (No. 870/11/8/10/93 lot) PL.

I understand MEA has no papers in this connection. Have any come to JS(N)'s notice?

16/9/93

JS. M's OFFICE

Dy. No. 8433/93

14/9

17/9

16/9

2090/8/11/93

17/9

3911

16-9-93

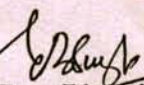
On Aug 18 afternoon I attended the memorial service at the local Renkoji Temple organised by Netaji Subhash Chander Bose Academy to mark the 48th Death Anniversary of Netaji. As per past practice the memorial service was held in the main temple which was led by Rev. Mochizuki (son of late Rev. Mochizuki who received Netaji's ashes at this temple). Thereafter about 50 persons were present at this ceremony moved down to a hall where speeches were delivered by members of the Subhash Bose Academy and other guests reminiscing their experiences of working closely with the INA. Some of them who knew Netaji personally extolled his virtues as a great freedom fighter of India. Towards the end of this function I was also asked to say something on this occasion. I made a brief speech thanking Rev. Mochizuki and members of the Netaji Subhash Bose Academy for taking care of Netaji ashes during the last about 48 years.

2. Unlike the previous years (I attended the memorial service and the meeting in 1991 and 1992 also) when there were no press reporters at the memorial service or at the meeting, this time reporters from the Japan Times, Kyodo News Service, Nihon Keizai Shimbun and JIJI press were present at the both the places. *(Nanda, An)* Soon after the memorial service at the temple was over, these press reporters came to me and started asking questions as to why Indian authorities have not so far taken away the ashes from Renkoji temple, etc. I told them that it would be inappropriate for me to hold a press conference in a temple where we have gathered to pay our homage to Netaji. Thereafter when we moved down to the hall I found that 4 or 5 chairs around my seat were deliberately kept vacant which were later occupied by these reporters.

3. As these reporters were rather persistent I thought it better not to avoid them anylonger. Their questions mainly related the delay in the repatriation of Netaji's ashes to India and a few about his role in the India's Independence movement. Giving a brief background as to why the ashes could not be repatriated so far, I informed them about the doubts in the minds of some of the Netaji's close relatives and friends about the death of Netaji in the air crash on Aug 18, 1945, and it sometimes becomes difficult for the Government to remove such doubts. When they asked me as to whether I was attending the function in my personal or official capacity, they were told that the Indian Embassy Tokyo has always been officially represented at the memorial service. One of the reporters mentioned that he has learnt that the 50th memorial service will be the last service which will be performed by the Subhash Bose Academy. In view of that he wanted to know whether the ashes will be repatriated to India or shifted to the Indian Embassy after that. They were told that as there are still two years to go for the 50th anniversary, the matter will be considered in due course. They asked a few more questions about Netaji's activities as a freedom fighter which were answered as briefly as possible.

4. Even other speakers during their speeches during this function were more vocal about the need for the repatriation of Netaji ashes with honour to India. Their main plea was as they are getting old ~~and~~, it would not be possible for them to safeguard these ashes with the respect that they deserve.

5. In view of the above mentioned it appears we will come under increasing pressure from the members of the Netaji Subhash Academy to repatriate Netaji's ashes to India as soon as possible. A couple of articles in this respect have already appeared in Nihon Kezai Shimbun (August 12 and 15 - English translation enclosed). It appears a few more would follow presumably based on the discussions by the above quoted press reporters with me at the Renkoji Temple on August 18.


(G. B. Singh)
Minister (C) 28/8/93

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The Japan Times

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THE NIKKEI WEEKLY

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STAFF WRITER
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M. VENKATESWARA IYER

संयुक्त सचिव
JOINT SECRETARY

Phone: 3015785

D.O.No.5293/JS(A)/93

Dear Shri Vijay Kumar,

I enclose a copy of the judgement dated 4 March, 1987, delivered by Hon'ble Justice Mr. S.N. Bhargava of the High Court of Judicature, Rajasthan. As you will see, this judgement relates to the inquiry into the circumstances in which Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died. The first inquiry in this matter was ordered by the Ministry of External Affairs who set up the Netaji Inquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Shah Nawaz Khan.

2. The aforesaid judgement has been relied upon in a writ petition filed in the Calcutta High Court by one Shri Bijan Ghosh and certain others who have joined him as added respondents.

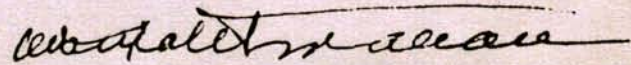
3. According to the judgement of the High Court of Rajasthan, the Ministry of External Affairs were required to look into the matter once again and examine all the available evidence including all the papers and other materials which the petitioner had claimed that he had at his disposal. The concluding part of the judgement may please be seen in this regard.

4. As we have to give para-wise comments in respect of the writ petition pending in the High Court at Calcutta, we are interested in knowing immediately what action was taken by the Ministry of External Affairs in pursuance of the judgement of the High Court, of Rajasthan.

5. We shall be grateful if you will consider the matter and send us a reply immediately. If you are not dealing with this matter, kindly pass it on to the concerned Joint Secretary with the request to send me a reply urgently. Also, kindly let me know who is the officer concerned so that I can be in touch with him.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,


(M. Venkateswara Iyer)

Shri Vijay Kumar,
Joint Secretary (Coord),
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi.

ent by
P.O. No. 10/93
27.9.93

24

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE FOR RAJASTHAN AT
JAIPUR BENCH JAIPUR.

LEDED

Nand Lal Sharma Vs. Chief Secretary, State of
Rajasthan and another.

S.P. CIVIL WRIT PETITION No. 992/1984

Under Article 226 and 51 of the Constitution
of India.

DATE OF FILING : : : JANUARY 18, 1986

PRESENT

HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE S.N. HHARGAVA

Shri Nand Lal Sharma, petitioner in person

Shri H.L. Garg, Addl G.A.

Shri H.L. Gupta, standing Counsel for
Union of India.

BY THE COURT:

This writ petition filed by Shri Nand Lal Sharma on a very important national issue asking this court to order for starting an open judicial enquiry on international level to know about the whereabouts of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, a national hero, and further to order to set him free, if he is still confined as a war criminal in any country. The petition was filed on 26.3.84. Along with the writ petition, an application was also filed that this case should be put up before a full bench for admission. When the case came up before Hon'ble the Chief Justice, he was pleased to order that the case may be put up for admission before me. The petitioner also filed an application giving the

summoned from the non petitioner No.2, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Union of India and he also filed some additional documents on 27th August, 1984. Notices to show cause were issued to the why the writ petition should not be admitted and notices of the said two applications were also sent to the non-petitioners. On 15th March, 1985, Shri B.P. Gupta, Standing Counsel for the Union of India, was called for and was directed to file reply of the writ petition within one month. Time was again sought by Shri Gupta on 8.5.85 and the case was fixed for 8th July, 1985. Thereafter, it was adjourned for Badaun and the case was not listed before any other bench inspite of applications for early hearing filed by the petitioner. The case came up before me on 10th October, 1985, till then, no reply was filed by either the State of Rajasthan or the Union of India. Shri B.P. Gupta, learned that Standing Counsel for the U.O.I. submitted that he has received no instructions, though he had intimated the Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs. The case was ordered to be put up on 4.11.85 and the non petitioner is were permitted to file reply before that date. Again on 19.11.1985, Shri Gupta submitted that he has received no instructions till then, inspite of written communication. Learned Deputy Government Advocate submitted that he has received instructions not to conduct the writ petition on behalf of the State of Rajasthan. The petitioner wanted time to

file some additional affidavit and some interrogatories. The petitioner filed some more documents and also produced two printed books (1) NETAJI "ZAD HIND FAUJ AND AFTER" BY R.M. FASLIWAL AND (2) AN INDIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER IN JAPAN, MEMOIRS OF A.R. KHIR. The case was taken up finally for arguments on 4.12.55. Shri R.P. Gupta still submitted that he has received no instructions and the Additional Government Advocate also reiterated that he had no instructions in the said matter. Hence, the petitioner was heard ex-parte in person and order was reserved.

The petitioner in this writ petition has submitted that he is a close colleague of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and played an important role for his exit from the prison and escaping out of India. In his petition, the petitioner has further submitted that two Commissions, namely High Court Enquiry Commission and Justice Khosla Commission, constituted earlier by the Government of India to enquire into the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, could not come to any definite conclusion for the various reasons mentioned in the writ petition and according to the petitioner the story that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died in a plane crash in Formosa was a fabricated one as the co-passengers who were supposed to have been travelling in that plane have lived for long after the reported accident and the supposed death.

27

file some additional affidavits and some interrogatories. The petitioner filed some more documents and also produced two printed books (1) NETAJI AZAD HIND FAUJ AND AFTER; BY R.M. VASLIJAL AND (2) AN INDIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER IN JAPAN, MEMOIRS OF A.M. BHAR. The case was taken up finally for arguments on 4.12.55. Shri R.P. Gupta still submitted that he has received no instructions and the Additional Government Advocate also reiterated that he had no instructions in the said matter. Hence, the petitioner was heard ex-parte in person and order was reserved.

The petitioner in this writ petition has submitted that he was a close colleague of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and played an important role for his exit from the prison and escaping out of India. In his petition, the petitioner has further submitted that two Commissions, namely High Level Enquiry Commission and Justice Khosla Commission, constituted earlier by the Government of India to enquire into the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, could not come to any definite conclusion for the various reasons mentioned in the writ petition and according to the petitioner the story that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died in a plane crash in Formosa was a fabricated one as the co-passengers who were supposed to have been travelling in that plane have lived for long after the reported accident and the supposed death.

Subhash Chandra Bose pl

any for his safety, deserting his people, could not be believed. The petitioner has also referred to the fact that Netaji was confined in Naumburg Fort (West Germany) as a war criminal and after his imprisonment, he was to be released. In his application dated 1.1.74, he has given a long list of documents which he wanted the Hon. Minister No. 2 to produce so that some definite conclusion could be reached. In that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ application, he further assured that he will be submitting list of Indian and foreign witnesses who are willing to put their statements recorded and to cooperate if fresh enquiry was ordered. He also produced some extracts of the diary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. He has also produced a newspaper Ekashikhan Patrika (English Edition), dated 16th August, 1985 containing an Article concerning Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. He also produced an affidavit of Dr. R.M. Kasliwal to the effect that whatever he had written in his book 'Netaji: Azad Hind Fauz and after' is correct and true to the best of his personal knowledge and belief and specially in preface on pages between (iii) and (iv) and in Epilogue on pages 69 to 73. Another book produced by the petitioner namely, An Indian Freedom Fighter in Japan, ~~xxxxxx~~ memoirs of A.M. Nair containing Chapter No. 28, the Disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, pages 272 to 284, in which the whole episode has been discussed in detail and doubts have been expressed.

6-2

29

considered
I have considered the whole matter. It cannot be denied that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was a great national hero and a great freedom fighter. He led the strong revolutionary freedom movement in India and commands great respect from the people of India. It is true that the Government of India was also concerned in this matter and appointed two commissions namely *Shah Nawaz Khan Commission* and Justice Kriplak Commission to enquire into the whole matter regarding the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose but the people were not satisfied with the manner in which these Commissions functioned and there has been demand from the public that some other Commission should be appointed to go into the whole question afresh and it is in that direction only that the present writ petition has been filed. Notices were issued both to the State of Rajasthan and the Union of India, but it is very unfortunate that none of them have cared to file any reply to the writ petition and produce relevant material before this court to come to some definite conclusion. Either because the Union of India is indifferent to this question as the matter had already been enquired more than once or the Government of India itself is not satisfied with the respective reports of the two Commissions and therefore, does not want to contest the writ petition and has been filed for ordering a fresh enquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

Since no reply has been filed on behalf of the respondents and no relevant documents have been produced in the court, it is not possible to come to a definite conclusion that the two earlier Commissions did not hold the enquiry properly or there were some inherent improbabilities. I do not think it proper to order a fresh enquiry without examining the whole matter which cannot be done without the assistance of the Union of India.

In the facts and circumstances, I think it proper to issue a direction to the non petitioner No. 2 to look into the matter dispassionately and hear the petitioner in person patiently and examine the documents and the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ evidence that he wants to produce in support of his contention, and then come to a definite conclusion. In my opinion, six months time will be sufficient for the Union of India to examine the whole matter afresh with open mind and if necessary, invite public in general to produce material whatever it want in this connection before coming to a prima facie decision as to whether fresh Commission is necessary or not. Petitioner should submit all his papers, evidence and other material before Government of India and time of six months will start from the date the material is filed by the petitioner.

The writ petition, is therefore, disposed of accordingly.

sd/-

S.N. BHARGAVA.

C-2 12/12
line 9

Re: 1866

at 28/1/01

✓ Copy forwarded to the Home Secretary, New Delhi.
For information and necessary action.

La

DEPUTY REGISTRAR

PART I

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सत्यमेव जयते

3750/JS(AP)/93
5/10/93

Immediate
On Section's file may be done
JS(H). P.H.O. and please put
a reply. Z. S.

संयुक्त सचिव
गृह मंत्रालय
भारत सरकार
नार्थ ब्लॉक, नई दिल्ली-110001
JOINT SECRETARY
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NORTH, BLOCK NEW DELHI-110001

PHONE : 3015785

JS (AP)

MOST IMMEDIATE/BY SPECIAL MESSENGER/
COURT CASE

D.O.No.1/27/91-Public

5 October, 1993.

Dear Shri Dilip Lahiri,

I enclose a copy of my D.O.letter No.5293/JS(A)/93 dated September 27, 1993, addressed to Shri Vijay Kumar, regarding the judgement dated 4th March, 1987, delivered by Hon'ble Shri Justice S.N. Bhargava of the High Court of Judicature, Rajasthan, relating to the inquiry into the circumstances in which Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died.

2. Shri Vijay Kumar told me that he has passed on my letter to you as you are concerned with the subject.

3. May I request you kindly to expedite your reply? We are dealing with a writ petition in the Calcutta High Court in which the aforesaid Judgement has been relied upon and we have to tell the Court what action has been taken in pursuance of the Judgement. Any delay will embarrass us and will result in Contempt of Court proceedings.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. Venkateswara Iyer
(M. VENKATESWARA IYER)

Shri Dilip Lahiri,
Joint Secretary (AP),
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi-110001.

P.S. I spoke to you today.

M. Venkateswara Iyer
5.10.93

(12A)

MOST IMMEDIATE

Secret

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

7/2

नई दिल्ली - 110011
NEW DELHI - 110011

Reference is invited to Director (AP)'s note No. C/551/7/92-JP of 7.10.1993. MEA's File No.C/551/7/92-JP and F.No.C/551/14/90-JP (along with a folder bearing No.C/551/7/92-JP) regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose are returned herewith and may kindly be sent back to this Office as soon as possible for further action.

Sharma

Sm
(Sujata Mehta)
Deputy Secretary

Ms. Primrose R. Sharma, Director (AP), MEA
PMO U.O. No.870/11/P/10/93-Pol dated 8.10.1993

7c

7c

Issued with MEA
8/10/93
[Signature]

12

20

Most Immediate/Secret

3810/SS(AD)9
8/10/93

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Reference PMO UD Note No. 870/11/P/10/93-Pol dt. 8.10.93. Files no. C/551/7/92-JP & C/551/14/90-JP (alongwith a folder bearing No. C/551/7/92-JP) regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose are returned herewith, as desired.

Primrose R. Sharma

(Primrose R. Sharma)
Director (AP)
08.10.93

3968/DS(5)/93
9-10-93

Ms. Sujata Mehta,
DS(5), PMO

Sm
9.10

Pol

(Files on Netaji alongwith MIA files submitted to Pol. Secy. on 7/10/93 by *DS(5)* *Mehta* 16 MIA on 14/10/93)

Sm *Netaji*

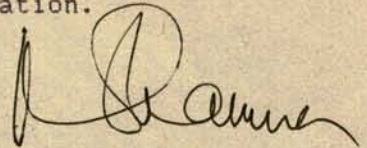
(*Pls see print
MIA file no
6-4(6) 9/10/93*)

(*File with Pol. Secy
8/11/93*)

Most Immediate
By Spl. Messenger

C/551/7/92-JP.
Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Our current file no. C/551/7/92-JP on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose sent from Secretary (East)'s Office vide diary no. 1479/Secy(E)/93 dt. 17.9.93 to JS(M), PMO, is required urgently in connection with an enquiry received from the Home Ministry. Grateful if we could have the file back. A copy of JS(Shri M. Venkateswara Iyer), MHA is attached for information.



(Primrose R. Sharma)
Director (AP)
07.10.93

DS(S), PMO

CC: Shri M. Venkateswara Iyer, JS, MHA

*JS may kindly see.
The MHA file with the PMO file is currently
in Principal Secretary's office.*

15

SECRET

39
m

Subject:- Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

.....

for 1/10/93

The matter regarding the death of Shri Subhash Chandra Bose and proposal to bring his ashes to India from Japan was last considered by the CCPA vide Ministry of Home Affairs note No.I/12014/6/90-IS(D-III) dated 10.1.1991. The view taken at that time was that no purpose would be served by holding another inquiry into the death of Netaji or by bringing back his ashes to India.

NGO file
C-4/6/91-NGO
returned to
NGO on 14/10/93
(vide letter to
Govt. of India)

2. MEA have now brought to our notice that a journal published from Moscow is likely to publish a series of articles based on classified KGB archives alleging inter alia that Netaji was an MI-6 agent and one of his close aides was a KGB agent. MEA are taking steps at the diplomatic level to contain the likely fallout from this publication. However, it is possible that the articles, if published, may revive the controversy about Netaji's death and his ashes.

3. It may also be kept in view that Netaji's birth centenary is due in 1997. The controversy about his ashes may have to be settled one way or the other before that time.

4. MHA are, therefore, requested to look into this matter and prepare a paper for the Cabinet on the likely form that this controversy may take and the options for dealing with it.

Av

(A.N. Varma)
Principal Secretary to PM
o/c

Home Secretary

PMO U.O. No.870/11/P/10/93-Pol

dated 13.10.1993

issued on 14/10/93
m

5916/DS(S)/8/93
14-10-93

DS(S) may pl. see for endorsement on MEA file/pl

dsym
14/10/93

✓ DS(S)

Endorsed.

Am

14.10

For (MEAP) in m/m/10/93

Sho-16/c
4.2.5/10

PRL. SECY. to PM.

DY No. 3608-5/93

Date 13/10/93

J.S. (N)'S OFFICE

Secret Dy No. 3811

DATE 13.10.93

4D

D. F. A.

Sund

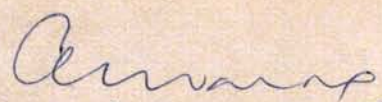
Subject: Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

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4. MHA are, therefore, requested to look into this matter and prepare a paper for the Cabinet on the likely form that this controversy may take and the options for dealing with it.


Principal Secretary to PM ^{15/10}

Home Secretary

PMO U.O. No. 870/11/P/10/93-Pol

dated 6.10.1993

13

F/A

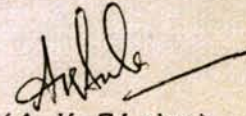
Ms. D. K. M.
6-4(6)91-MSO
(Page 1-19)

S-1479/Secy(E)93
199


6. We had also approached the Russian Foreign Office through our Mission in Russia. The response was not encouraging and it is clear that not much more can be expected from them. The Russians had sent us a note in January, 1992 stating that "as per the data available in the Central and the Republic Archives there is no information about the stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress, Netaji Subash Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and after that". Our Ambassador in Moscow vide his letter of June 24, 1993, informed us that the bi-monthly journal, "Asia and Africa Today" would soon start publishing a series of articles by a Russian Indologist, Prof. Albert Belsky (Flag 'D'). The articles will be based on classified KGB archives, alleging inter-alia that Netaji was a MI-6 (British) agent and that one of his close aides was a KGB agent.

7. The view of this Division, as indicated by JS(AP) in his Note dated 27 April, 1993, at page 17/n ante, is, "the only alternative perhaps, two or three years later, would be to take the bull by the horns and bring the casket back to India containing ashes of Netaji with due honour and ceremony. However, the CCPA would have to decide on such a course of action." In view of recent development, we may have to initiate action even earlier.

Submitted please.


(A.K. Sinha)
Under Secretary (AP)
13/9/93

JS(AP) The above note is for information of JS M PMO
with respect to his note as PR I


15.9.93.

F8
[JS (M). PMO.]
S./Mithu
16/9

✓
9562/10/93
14/10

MEAs file is returned herewith
The matter has been brought to the attention
of the Home Ministry.

✓SM-15/c

Sugala Mehla
14-10-93

J.S. (M)'S OFFICE
Dy. No. 7808/93
Date 14/10/93

JS (AP) MEA

✓
3586/283/93
17/9/93
88ued (w. P)
14/10/93

PMO U.O. No. 3586/DS(S)/93 dt. 14-10-1993

(17)

42

Secret

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER'S OFFICE

Ans. 2.5/12
(4.15.12)

S.1668/EAM/93

On the request of the Ministry of Home Affairs, MEA with the approval of the Foreign Secretary, had sent its views, placed below, on the question of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's Death and on bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

This is an extremely sensitive matter which needs to be discussed in the party and with senior political figures before any action is initiated by any of the Ministries. A routine handling of the case could have unnecessary repercussions. I would, therefore, submit for PM's consideration that he constitutes a high-powered group chaired by himself to look into this matter and give suitable directions.

Dinesh Singh

(DINESH SINGH)

23 December, 1993

PM

Ans. 5/12

P.S.

please link with

PM'S Personal Section	
LY	1858-S
DATE	24/12

Pol II & sign

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1133/Dir (AP) 13
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S.1668/EAM/13 43
23/11
16089/PS/13
25/11

SECRET


MOST IMMEDIATE

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Sub : Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing
his ashes to India from Japan.

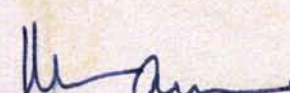
Reference Ministry of Home Affairs UD note No.
I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III) of 21 Oct 93 and 3 Nov 93 on the subject
referred to above. A detailed note incorporating the views of
this Ministry is enclosed as desired.

This issues with the approval of the Foreign Secretary.

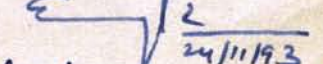
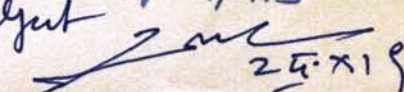

(Dilip Lahiri)
JS (AP)
23.11.93

M/o Home Affairs (Sh C.I. Joy, Dir (IS-1),)
MEA UD Note No. C/551/12/93-JP dt 23.11.93

✓ Copy to Dir (EAMO) for kind information of EAM. We understand
MHA as the nodal Ministry is preparing a note on the matter.
MEA's views had also been sought.


(Primrose R. Sharma)
Director (AP)
23.11.93

EAM when apprised of the views sent by MEA to
MHA indicated that he did not agree with the approach
and that these should have been brought to his attention
before being conveyed to MHA.

F.S. I would be grateful to 
have EAM's views on this subject 
EAM 25.11.93

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

CONTROVERSY REGARDING NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE'S
DEATH AND BRINGING HIS ASHES TO INDIA FROM JAPAN

Background

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose allegedly died in a plane crash in Taihoku (Taiwan) in August 1945. He was 49 years old at that time. His ashes were taken to the Renkoji temple in Tokyo by Habibur Rahman, a colleague of Netaji and handed over to the priest of the temple, the Ven'ble Mochizuki, (who died in 1980) and who has been succeeded by his son.

Two Committees of Inquiry and CCPA Decision of 1991

2. Two Committees of inquiry were set up by the Government of India - The Shahnawaz Khan Committee in 1956 and the one man Khosla Committee in 1970 to go into the matter of Netaji's death. Both Committees concluded that Subhash Chandra Bose had indeed died in the crash at Taihoku in 1945, although Netaji's own brother, S.C. Bose, who was a member of the Shahnawaz Khan Committee, gave a dissenting judgment. Subsequently, the CCPA decided that "no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another inquiry or by bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

Controversy over Netaji's Death and return of ashes to India

3. The controversy on whether or not Netaji actually died in 1945 in Taihoku, and whether the ashes in the Renkoji Temple

are indeed those of Netaji, is being continued by a very vocal minority among whose leading figures is Shri Samar Guha and the Forward Bloc. As against to this, there are many, including some of Netaji's relatives, who accept that the ashes are genuine and they have paid homage to them at the Renkoji Temple, as indeed, did Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. They feel that the ashes should be brought back to India, with all due respect and honour as befitting a person of Netaji's stature as part of the full public recognition of Netaji's role and contribution to Indian independence.

4. Former soldiers of the Japanese Imperial Army who worked with or were associated with Netaji and the Indian National Army (INA) are also strong proponents of this course of action. These veterans, (who are members of the Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy in Tokyo) are very concerned that they are all old and very few of them are left. They fear that, with their passing away, there will be no one left to look after the ashes of Netaji. The present priest of the temple, who took over after his father's death, does not hold the same respect for the ashes as his father.

5. From time to time the War Veterans have been enquiring through our Embassy in Tokyo and the Embassy of Japan in New Delhi to ascertain our plans for bringing the ashes back to India. The Government of Japan has indicated that it would go along with whatever the Government of India wished to do but at the same time they have indicated that they were under some pressure from

the war veterans.

6. The matter has now assumed some urgency. The annual get together of the war veterans of the Subhash Chandra Bose Academy in Tokyo, on the occasion of 48th Memorial Service this year had received wide media coverage in Japan as the Japanese media had also been invited. The press reports focused on the concern expressed by the War Veterans of the Academy over Government of India's lack of interest in wishing to receive the ashes of Netaji back to India. The Bose Academy members are reportedly thinking of disbanding and having the last memorial service in 1995 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary. If no decision is taken by that time, we may be asked by the temple to take charge of the ashes and may have no alternative but to store them in our Mission in Tokyo.

Information from Russia

7. On the basis of information and pressure exerted by people like Samar Guha, who has never accepted the death of Netaji, we had also asked our mission in Moscow to ascertain from the erstwhile Soviet Union/present Russian Federation if they had any information about Netaji's presence in Russia during or after 1945. The Russian Foreign Office had indicated that their archives do not contain any material indicating Netaji had gone to the Soviet Union. On the other hand, we have been informed by a Russian Indologist, Professor Albert Belski, who is associated with the bi-monthly "Asia and Africa Today" that the magazine is coming out with a series of articles, allegedly based on classified KGB archives, claiming, inter alia, that Netaji Subhash

Chandra Bose was an MI - 6 (British) agent and that one of his close associates was a KGB agent. A copy of a note from our mission in Moscow is enclosed (Annexure I). The first article in the series has been apparently been published. We are awaiting a translated text from our Mission.

Controversy regarding Peace Memorial at Imphal

8. The Hindustan Times of November 4 has reported that the Forward Bloc would oppose "tooth and nail" the decision of the Government of India to allow the construction of a monument in memory of Japanese soldiers who died in Manipur during World War II as these were, according to the party (Forward Bloc) dubious attempts at falsify the freedom movement by denigrating the role of the INA led by Subhash Chandra Bose. The Forward Bloc had earlier been opposed to bringing back the ashes from Japan. It may also be borne in mind that the Forward Bloc had been founded by Netaji in 1939.

MEA's Views

- (i) There appears to be widespread sentiment that Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be appropriately commemorated and that Netaji's ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. Opposition to bringing back the ashes is only from a small group of Forward Bloc figures and Shri Samar Guha.
- (ii) In the likely event that the Japanese Temple approaches us over the next 2 or 3 years to take charge of the ashes, it would be most inappropriate if we declined to

do so, or stored the ashes unobtrusively in our Mission, due to the continuing controversy over the ashes being kept alive by a small minority.

(iii) A consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing the ashes back to India from Japan could be promoted if the likely contingency of our being constrained to dispose of Netaji's ashes as indicated in Para 2 above was made known publicly. Respected public figures and others could be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes.

(iv) Alternatively, a Committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 could be established, with the participation of public figures of various political opinions, and the call to bring back Netaji's ashes could be made by the Committee.

SECRET

49

Embassy of India
Moscow

Meeting with Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief,
"Asia and Africa Today", at 1200 hrs. on 29 June 93

As desired by the Ambassador, I called on Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the monthly journal "Asia and Africa Today" at 1200 hrs. on 29 June 1993. After exchanging pleasantries and exploring the possibility of further cooperation between the Mission and the journal "Asia and Africa Today", I enquired from Touradjev whether "Asia and Africa Today" would soon start publishing a series of articles, based on KGB archives, alleging inter-alia that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was an MI-6 agent and that a close aide of his had worked for the KGB.

Touradjev confirmed that the August (8/93) issue of "Asia and Africa Today" would carry an article titled "The Secret Behind the Death of S.C. Bose" by Prof. Raikov, a well known Indologist based in Liptsk. The article would explore the various theories advanced from time to time, regarding the circumstances of Netaji's death. Its inclusion was essentially meant to generate reader interest in two further articles which would be published in the September (9/93) and October (10/93) issues of "Asia and Africa Today". Touradjev clarified that he was the author of these two articles and that they were based on KGB archives which he had been privileged to personally examine and which had been shared with him by contacts he had in the Russian intelligence service. In an attempt to convince me that his articles were based on genuine KGB documents, Touradjev showed me from afar a copy of a letter dated 11/12/1943, marked "MOST SECRET" and addressed by a Col. G.A. Hill of British Intelligence to a Col. Osipov of Soviet Intelligence.

In response to a query, Touradjev clarified that to the best of his knowledge the Russian Intelligence Service did not possess a separate file on Netaji. In his view, this would seem to show that Netaji had never visited the Soviet Union since, at least in earlier years, a file was usually opened on every foreigner arriving in the country. The documents he had based his articles upon were primarily reports filed by the then Russian intelligence

agents in Kabul, letters addressed by British Intelligence to their Soviet counterparts, plus other stray correspondence which he had come across in the KGB archives.

I specifically queried Touradjev as to whether his two, articles contained references alleging that Netaji had been a British agent. If so, this would be quite unfortunate, given that Netaji was a widely respected national leader whose memory was deeply cherished by the people of India.

In response to this and other queries, Touradjev made the following points:

(a) His articles did not bring out that Netaji was a MI-6 agent, in the sense of his being a "paid functionary". Equally, they did, however, show that Netaji "cooperated" with the British. In this context, Touradjev pointed out that without British acquiescence Netaji could not have escaped so easily from India or lived for so long in Kabul. Moreover, the instructions which Netaji sent from Berlin for carrying out subversive acts against the British in India, were never translated into action since the British knew of them and could take corrective measures. Touradjev repeatedly emphasized that the KGB documentation which he had access to left him in no doubt that "Netaji had cooperated with the British". He added that only MI-6 could inform whether the relationship went beyond "cooperation" as additional details would only be available with them. He hoped that, once his articles were published, the British would join in sharing information on Netaji.

(b) The KGB documentation, however, conclusively established that Bhagat Ram - Netaji's aide in Kabul - had served as an agent of several foreign intelligence services e.g. the British, Russian, German, Italian and others. This would be brought out clearly in his articles.


(c) His articles would be "scientifically presented" in the sense that they would fully annotated and would provide details of every important document referred to or quoted. They would thus analyze specific documentation and would not be largely speculative.

52
SECRET

-3-

(d) In his view, the KGB archives material which he has quoted in his articles made Netaji "go up in his esteem, since, it showed that he (Netaji) had contributed to the defeat of Fascism". He felt that his articles would in fact show Netaji as being an "even greater nationalist" since Netaji had striven for an independent India, rather than an India subservient to Germany or Japan. Touradjev clarified that the intention behind his articles was not to denigrate Netaji as a leader who had the best interests of India in mind, but to contribute to a better understanding of Netaji's historic role.

In response to my query, Touradjev pointed out that the August (8/93) and September (9/93) issues of "Asia and Africa Today" (containing Prof. Raikov's articles and the first of his two articles) had already been sent to the printers. I did not specifically urge him to have the articles withdrawn, since it was evident that he would not do so in any case.


(Ajai Malhotra)
Counsellor (Inf.)
30.6. 1993

Ambassador